

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 09086 01 OF 03 151713Z

41

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /075 W

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O R 151604Z NOV 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3600

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 9086

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: NOV 14 OBSERVER ARTICLES ON  
SMITH'S RIGHT-WING AND IVOR RICHARD'S PERSONALITY

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF TWO ARTICLES WHICH APPEARED  
IN THE SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14, OBSERVER ENTITLED "SMITH'S  
RIGHT-WING IN REARGUARD ACTION" AND "THE MAN IN THE  
HOT SEAT."

BEGIN TEXT

SMITH'S RIGHT-WING IN REARGUARD ACTION

FROM LAURENCE MARKS IN SALISBURY

A WREATH OF WHITE CARNATIONS HAS BEEN PLACED  
AT THE BASE OF THE RHODES STATUE OUTSIDE SALISBURY'S  
GOVERNMENT OFFICES, A SOUR  
DISSENTING NOTE AMID THE  
DEFIANT SELF-CONGRATULATION WITH WHICH MINISTER CELE-  
BRATED THE 11TH ANNIVERSARY OF UDI LAST WEEK.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 09086 01 OF 03 151713Z

THE CARD ATTACHED TO IT

SAYS: 'IN MEMORY OF INDEPENDENT WHITE RHODESIA. BORN 11 NOVEMBER 1956 DIED 24 SEPTEMBER 1976. MURDERED BY ABANDONED RHODESIAN FRONT PRINCIPLES.'

SO FAR FROM BEING ABANDONED THESE PRINCIPLES ARE STILL BEING SEDULOUSLY PROPAGATED BY RIGHT-WING MINISTERS AND MPS AND BY THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TV AND RADIO.

THIS MAKES THE NATIONALIST POLITICIANS' APPARENTLY IRRATIONAL ABDURACY OVER DETAIL AT GENEVA EASIER TO UNDERSTAND INSIDE RHODESIA THAN IT MAY BE ELSEWHERE. THEY HAVE BEEN THROWN INTO DEFENSIVE DISTRUST BY THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO BEHAVE AT HOME AS IF MAJORITY RULE SIMPLY MEANS BRINGING ACCEPTABLE AFRICANS INTO THE ADMINISTRATION.

SINCE HIS FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE SEVEN WEEKS AGO IAN SMITH HAS DONE NOTHING TO SPELL OUT TO HIS SUPPORTERS THE NATURE OF THE NEW RHODESIAN SOCIETY THAT ACCEPTANCE WAS INTENDED SUPPOSEDLY TO BRING INTO BEING AND NOTHING TO STOP HIS RIGHT-WING FROM FOSTERING THE IMPRESSION THAT POWER WILL REMAIN IN WHITE HANDS. HIS DECISION TO LEAVE HIS HARDLINE FOREIGN MINISTER P. K. VANDERBYL IN CHARGE AT GENEVA IS SEEN BY AFRICANS AND WHITE CRITICS AS SYMBOLISING HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO CURB HIS RIGHT-WING.

THE RHODESIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, CHIEF INSTRUMENT OF THE POLITICAL CONDITIONING OF WHITE RHODESIANS, IS GOVERNED BY TWO RIGHT-WINGERS: THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, ELLY BROOMBERG, AND THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, HARVEY WARD A FANATICAL WHITE SUPREMACIST. ONE OF THE CURIOSITIES OF ITS NEWS BULLETINS IS AN ANONYMOUS DAILY COMMENTARY HEAVILY LARDED WITH SARCASM GIVING THE GOVERNMENT'S INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT EVENTS.

FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS THIS HAS BEEN PRESISTENTLY USED FOR SNEERING DENIGRATION OF AFRICAN POLITICIANS AT GENEVA AND TO ASSOCIATE RHODESIA'S WESTERN-ORIENTED NATIONALISM

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 09086 01 OF 03 151713Z

WITH THE BLOODSHED AND CHAOS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE.

THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO ACT ON SOME RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE QUENET REPORT, A TIMOROUS WELL-KNOWN DOCUMENT THAT PROPOSES TO END DISCRIMINATION IN COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL LAND AS WELL AS IN HOTELS AND PUBLIC LAVATORIES, BUT TO RETAIN IT IN HOUSING AND EDUCATION. IT REJECTED LEGISLATION AGAINST JOB DIS-

CRIMINATION, THE SINGLE BEGGET IRRITANT FOR AFRICANS.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 09086 02 OF 03 151723Z

41

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3601

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 9086

ON THE EVE OF SELF-RULE THIS SOUNDS LIKE ONE MORE PIECE  
OF EVIDENCE THAT THE REAR-GUARD ACTION TO DEFEND WHITE  
POWER IS STILL BEING FOUGHT.

'SUPPORT FOR SMITH AMONG WHITE RHODESIANS IS STRONGER  
NOW THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR A LONG TIME' SAYS ALLAN SAVORY  
OF THE OPPOSITION RHODESIA PARTY, WHO IS THE MOST CLEAR-  
HEADED AND UNCOMPROMISING OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S WHITE  
CRITICS. 'I BELIEVE HE WOULD CARRY THE BULK OF WHITE RHO-  
DESIANS WITH HIM IF HE GAVE A STRONG LEAD.

'HE COULD DISARM AFRICAN DISTRUST WHICH IS THE KEY TO  
THE DEADLOCK AT GENEVA BY ENCOURAGING HIS MINISTERS  
AND MPS TO ADDRESS PUBLIC MEETING THROUGHT THE  
COUNTRY HELPING PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THE  
COMING CHANGES INSTEAD OF HOLDING PRIVATE MEETINGS TO  
CONVICE THEIR FOLLOWERS THAT THERE WILL BE ANOTHER UDI.

MOST RELIABLE SOURCES IN SALISBURY BELIEVE MR SMITH  
HIMSELF GENUINELY WANTS AN  
ORDERLY AND QUICK TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE NATIONALISTS AND  
THAT HIS PERSONAL FOLLOWING IS STRONG ENOUGH TO ENABLE HIM  
TO IGNORE HIS RIGHT-WING IN SEEKING THIS IF HE POSSESSED  
THE POLITICAL VISION TO DO SO.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 09086 02 OF 03 151723Z

'THERE ARE STILL THE GOOD OLD SMITHY BOYS...GO DOWN WITH THE FLAG FLYING...THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD...THE LAST BULLET- THE NUT CASES,' SAYS A LEADING SALISBURY BANKER, 'BUT THE AVERAGE RHODESIAN WANTS THE THING SETTLED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WITHOUT BLOODSHED AND HATE.'

MR SMITH'S PROPOSAL TO INVITE 'RESPONSIBLE' AFRICANS TO CARRY OUT THE PRETORIA AGREEMENT IF THE GENEVA TALKS BREAK DOWN IS REGARDED OUT-SIDE HIS OWN PARTY AS IMPRACTICAL.

IT IS TRUE THAT MIDDLE-CLASS AFRICANS ARE DEEPLY ANXIOUS AT THE POSSIBILITY IF TALKS FAIL OF A TAKEOVER BY A MARXIST MILITARY REGIME. THEY TEND TO SAY THAT MR SMITH IS THE LESSER OF THE TWO EVILS. BUT THAT IS A FAR CRY FROM AGREEING TO JOIN OR SUPPORT WHAT WOULD BE DENOUNCED AS A PUPPET GOVERNMENT BY THE GUERRILLAS AND THE BLACK PRESIDENT.

TWICE SINCE HIS RETURN FROM GENEVA THE PRO-GOVERNMENT RHODESIA HERALD HAS WARNED THE PRIME MINISTER THAT HE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE TONEGOTIATING WITH THE NATIONALISTS. IT SAID: 'THE GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE: COME WHAT MAY, THEREFORE, IT HAS NO OPTION BUT TO TALK TO THE NATIONALISTS. OUR LONG-TERM FUTURE DOES NOT REST MERELY ON REACHING AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE "MODERATES"...THE CONFERENCE CANNOT SIMPLY MUST NOT, BE ALLOWED TO FAIL. AND UNLESS MR SMITH PLAYS A POSITIVE ROLE IN IT, THIS DANGER CERTAINLY EXISTS. LEAVING MR VAN DER BYL AS OUR MAIN DELEGATE AND SPOKESMAN DOES LITTLE TO INSPIRE CONFIDENCE.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 09086 03 OF 03 151740Z

42  
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 9086

THE MAN IN THE HOT SEAT

ANDREW WILSON EXAMINES THE PERSONALITY AND CAREER OF IVOR RICHARD, THE MAN IN THE HOT SEAT AT THE RHODESIAN CONFERENCE IN GENEVA THIS WEEKEND.

MR IVOR RICHARD, BRITAIN'S CHAIRMAN AT THE GENEVA TALKS ON RHODESIA, HAS A REPUTATION FOR AMBITION, A TOUCH OF ARROGANCE AND A LAWYER'S PERSUASIVENESS-A PROBLEMATIC MIXTURE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

TWO DAYS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE STARTED HE HAD SHARP WORDS WITH ONE OF THE ZANU MILITARY HIGH COMMAND, MUKUAZEI MUDZI, WHO TOLD HIM NOT TO TREAT THE ZANU DELEGATION 'LIKE NIGGERS'. MR RICHARD RETORTED THAT 'NIGGER' WAS NOT IN HIS VOCABULARY AND THAT HE WOULD NOT STAND FOR BEING CALLED A RACIST. MUDZI NOW SAYS HE DOES NOT REGARD HIM AS A BAD CHAIRMAN- WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF HIS MANDATE.

OTHER AFRICANS FIND HIM PETERNALISTIC; ZANU HAVE THE IMPRESSION HE IS ANTI-ZANU, AND ANTI-MUGABE IN PARTICULAR. 'NOT WARM OR FRIENDLY'; A MAN WITH A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT ATTITUDE, SAYS ONE DELEGATE.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 09086 03 OF 03 151740Z

THE FACT IS THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD MET THE OTHER LEADERS -NKOMO, SITHOLE AND MUSOREQA- IN NEW YORK BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, HE HAD NEVER MET MUGABE (WHO, SUPPORTED BY THE GUERRILLAS, IS ARGUABLY THE KEY MAN AT GENEVA) AND, PARTLY ON BAD ADVISE, MISREAD HIM.

THE FRICTION REMAINS, AND AFRICANS ASSUKE HIM OF 'HIGH-HANDEDNESS,' ABOVE ALL ON THE CRUCIAL QUESTION OF THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE, SET BY THE BRITISH FOR MARCH 1978- AGAINST THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST DATE OF 1 DECEMBER, 1977.

ALL THE SIGNS ARE THAT MR RICHARD WAS MISLED INTO BE-

LIEVING THAT SINCE THE BRITISH DATE WAS ONLY THREE MONTHS OFF THE NATIONALIST ONE, THE 'FRONT-LINE' AFRICAN STATES COULD BE COUNTED ON TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE NATIONALISTS TO ACCEPT IT. HIS ADVISE ON THIS POINT IS BELIEVED TO HAVE COME FROM A SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICE EXPERT, MR DENNIS GRENAN, TO WHOM HE DEFERRED BECAUSE OF HIS SUPPOSEDLY GREATER AFRICAN KNOWLEDGE.

MR RICHARD'S MOST POSITIVE QUALITIES, TO WHICH THE AFRICAN CRITICISMS DO LESS THAT JUSTICE, INCLUDE A CAPACITY FOR FLEXIBLE THINKING, A READINESS (IN PRIVATE TO ADMIT HE'S WRONG, AND A SENSE OF HUMOUR. THE ONE THING HE'S TOUCHY ABOUT IS THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE PRESS WITH HIS WEIGHT, APRTLY AN OCCUPATIONAL PENALTY THAT COMES OF DIPLOMATIC BEER-DRINKING IN THE DELEGATES' LOUNGE AND IN UN HEADQUARTERS.

OBTAINING A GENEVA SUCCESS, THOUGH NOT LOOKING TOO HOPEFUL THIS WEEKEND, COULD HELP HIM. 'IF IT GOES WELL SOME GLITTER WILL RUB OFF ON ME,' HE SAID RECENTLY. (IF IT GOES BADLY, THE ODIUM WILL RUB OFF TOO.'

ALL THIS FACES THE JOHN BULL-ISH PIPE-SMOKING, BE-SPECTACLED MR RICHARD WITH AN AGONISING QUESTION. WILL HE, CAN HE, EXTRICATE HIMSELF FROM THE TIMETABLE TRAP INTO WHICH HE FELL BY NAMING A DATE AT THE OUTSET AND TRYING TO STICK BY IT? END TEXTABRAMS

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